It is on the afternoon of the second day of the potlatch that these goods are delivered.(1). They serve five purposes, which can be described separately although the Bella Coola usually thinks of them as being too closely associated for division.

I. They increase the dignity, influence and prestige of the donors. This theme needs no further elaboration. When X. later gives these presents to his foreign guests he announces in person from whom he has received them. Knowledge of the way in which Y.'s relatives have upheld the dignity of the marriage is thus spread far and wide, to their intense gratification.

II. They validate the transmission of names, or other prerogatives taken by Y. to her husband. This is the expression used for names given directly by Y.'s ~~fa~~ her to his son-in-law. Even presents given directly from father-in-law to son-in-law are always said to have been taken by the daughter to her husband.

III. Indirectly, they increase the prestige of the children, either born at that time or who may appear later. None of the goods used for repurchasing their mother can actually be used for their benefit, but the whole rite gives them strength to succeed in life. A child whose mother has not been repurchased is said to be unable to walk, as if his legs were impotent. He lacks intelligence, and the ability to prosper. From the petty feuds of childhood until old age, a person is proud to recall the number of times his mother was bebought, and to thrust this statement in the teeth of someone not so fortunate.

IV. They govern Y.'s status in this world. When women quarrel, as they often do, the most common boast to shame a less wealthy rival is a reminder of the number of times the speaker was repurchased and the value of the goods ~~used~~ bestowed.

"I can sit down on fifteen canoes", "I am carried by five slaves", says the angry woman, mentioning whatever goods were used for her repurchase.

Moreover, these goods serve a more definite purpose since they obtain for Y. a name, or names, of which the value is directly proportionate to the expenditure, precisely as ~~a~~ the importance of a chief's

(1) See page .

name depends on the goods used to validate it. As with men's names, some women's names were given by ~~Aquntam~~ Alquntam to the first ~~women,~~ arrivals; others were created on this earth with regard to peculiar events, and most are ~~commoner's names~~ such as can be used either by men or women. Theoretically, the dignity of the first type of name is greater than ~~of~~ either of the other ~~two,~~ but in practice ~~it~~ the importance of the owner depends on the number of times she has bought herslef from her husband; the principles governing the importance of women are the same as those already described for men. The term y tsalt, apllied to a woman who has many times rebought herself and so reached a position of eminence is the feminine equivalent to stalt mx. The creation of women's names in reference to their characteristics or incidents connected with their married life is more common than a similar creation for men. The ritual of the bestowal of a name on Y., here given, was omitted from the description of the potlatch in order to lessen the complexity of that ceremony. It will be remembered that on the afternoon of the second day of the potlatch (1) Y.'s relatives appear without X.'s house, carrying valuable presents.

The announcer calls out that Y.'s father has come to give "food" to X. and his relatives. By food, presents are maant, which are ~~them~~ the return of the ~~fx~~ gifts given by X.'s relatives ~~afterxthexweddingx~~ on various occasions after the wedding. Full details ~~xrexgivenxby~~ are announced as to who is the actual giver, for other realtives than Y.'s father assist, and to whom the present is made. The recipient may either be X. himself or one of his relatives who has conferred a gift on one of Y.'s family. The goods are taken inside, ~~andxthexxxxx~~ counted ~~and~~ displayed and the same announcement made. These presents are given away by X. the same evening, so that the only practical adavantaye which he receives is that the ultimate recipients make their returns, if any, to him. He makes no recompense to Y.'s relatives for these.

A fluent orator next ~~orates~~ spakes on behalf of Y.'s father to the following effect:

"Please, ye people, listen to my words. This is an important occasion, hearken to what I have to say. Long ago our first ancestors were married, as X. and Y. have done, and it is fitting that we should make the name ——— live again in Y. Three years (or as long as the name has been dormant) it has been dead, as if living with

the ghosts beneath the earth. Now it shall stand up again in Y.; henceforth we use it for her. Come forth ——— (using Y.'s new name), your father rebuys you from X. for (for example) (fifty blankets.)" 2 1

Y. may be anywhere, the statement "come forth" is merely symbolical. The fifty blankets are piled outside the house and all the spectators, for all have gathered to witness the transaction, to know that that number of blankets have been given with reference to that name. Sometimes the wife is rebought three, four or even more times for one name, either repeatedly by her father or successively by her father and other relatives, or several names may be acquired by the different repurchasings. For example, at one potlatch not many years ago the woman obtained the names Laliaks, Xw ± on, (1), Smai n a, and Aits mka. As with men, some women prefer to have one very strong name, rather than diffuse their importance over a number. In this particular case the four names were received from different relatives. At each repurchase the call is raised:

"Come forth ——— your brother, (uncle, or whatever relative it may be) rebuys you from X. for ....."

The presents are counted, carried into the house, and there again the announcement is made of their number, from whom they have come, and for what purpose they have been given. Then X. calls out:

The goods are piled togther indescriminately for future distribution.

"Come in, come in," as though he were welcoming strangers who had arrived from a distance.

Y.'s relatives enter and the ritual of the potlatch continues as already described. The origin myth, or myths, in which Y.'s new name, or names, is, or are, embodied is usually expounded in considerable detail, especially with reference to the recent history of the name, that is, by whom it was last used.

As has been said, many women's names have been created with respect to their appearance or actions on this earth. As far as could be learnt the procedure of bestowal of one of these names is identical with that just described. The following examples illustrate names of this type:

(1). See page .

In one case where an orphan woman without relatives repurchased herself by her own arduous labours, the announcement was made:

"Y.'s belt has come to rebuy her."

The reference was to the manner in which she had looped up her clothing with a belt when working. If Y.'s father should die after amassing goods to repurchase her, they are used for the purpose intended and the announcement is:

"Y.'s father's anus has comes to rebuy her."

The ancestral family descended from the first settlers at Snutl tl have the prerogative of singing a special song as they rebuy one of their daughters. This was used by their first ancestors on a like occasion. The theme is:

"I, I, I am the highest of you all. No one of you is capable of doing what I can accomplish. You all live on what I void."

The significance of this last sentence lies in the fact that the village of Snutl tl is furthest up the Bella Coola River. Its inhabitants used to claim that the people of the other villagers lived on the refuse which they threw into the river, a source of pride to them.

After announcing the various relatives who have rebought Y., the presents are counted and carried into X.'s house. The statement is repeated to the foreign guestsathere assembled concerning their number, who ~~gave~~ has given them, and for what purpose. They are then piled indescriminately in a large heap for future distribution. At this juncture X. calls out:

"Come in, come in," as though he were welcoming arriavls from a distance.

Y.'s relatives enter and the ritual of the potlatch continues in the manner already described. The origin myth in which Y.'s new name is embodied is expounded in considerable detail, especially its recent history, that is, ~~from~~ by whom it was recently used and any pertinent items connected with its transmission. If she has received several names, from different myths, each is similarly expounded.

As has been said, many women's names have been created with respect to their appearance or actions on this earth. As far as could be learnt, the procedure of bestowal for a name of this type is identical with that just described. The following examples illustrate names of this type:

name is judge according to the goods expended for it. A few women's names were given to the first women by Alquntam, but most were created on this earth as a result of actions performed by them. The names of the first women are potentially Tsalagyat, but the influence of the other kinds entitled to the number, the meaning of stalt my they are rebought from their husbands and on the goods used for this purpose. New names are more frequently created for women than for men: The following examples illustrate the types:—

Ana sulhamalaix, "The Resident Maker". The wife of the first Tialqwala had Tialqwala twins so often that the village rapidly increased in population. Accordingly she took this name for herself when she rebought herself from her husband. 21 This name was transmitted for generations in the ancestral family of Tialqwala's descendants for generations until lent about one hundred years ago. The recipients claimed it as their own and passed it to a certain Qmqemkil ka, recently deceased, who gave it to her brother's daughter at the time of the latter's marriage. Since this woman's husband has not yet given a potlatch the name is accordingly in a degraded condition at the present time.

Qlthiyaiy, "I am the worthless one." The mother-in-law of this woman had been in the habit of insulting her daughter-in-law by saying, even when strangers were present:

"We have a worthless daughter-in-law".

On rebuying herself the woman advertised the rudeness of her husband's mother by throwing her words back in her teeth.

Nulalul ka, "I am the one whose eyes are hungry." The mother-in-law of this woman used to eat without offering food to her son's wife.

Nulolwixodjax, "The one whose buttocks are dusty." Her mother-in-law did not give her a place to sit in the house so that she was forced to stay close to the fire in the ashes.

Kwitaxlaix, "The one who sits where there is no space." Her mother-in-law objected to this woman sitting near her husband when he took his ceremonial seat, and insulted her with the above remark.

Nunuaox s, "The stingy one." It was ~~fxix~~ said that this woman restrained her husband's generosity until he gained ~~the~~ an unpleasant reputation ~~of being~~ for parsimon~~ious~~y. She publicly shamed her husband's critics by taking this name for herself when she rebought herself from her ~~husband.~~ him.

better than you have it in the original

Nu aos, "The inhospitable one." Her husband received this reputation owing to his wife's parsimony, so she advertised what had been said about him.

Nup~~i~~tat lsikan, "Heedlessy deaf." This woman's mother-in-law claimed that she deliberately failed to hear what she was told to do, and applied the above epithet to her. The daughter-inlaw confounded her by taking it as her own name.

When a name of this type is assumed it is always announced when, where, and for what purpose it was first created.

V. ~~Sxxxxpaxkixxxxfxkhxxgoodxxxxxxkxxxxxx

presents, it sometimes happens that those obtained by thr repurchasing of Y. are used for the benefit of her own children. Unless this error is corrected, the child could always be shamed by having it said:

"You are a mere nobody. The goods expended in the repurchase of your mother have become nothing beneath your feet." (**).

When such an accident occurs the relatives of X. take some future occasion to give presents to validate * his child, with the announcement:

"The goods used from the repurchase of his mother have become nothing beneath his feet. We hereby supply that deficiency."

Thus it is demonstrated that the relatives of both parents are interested in his welfare so that his path is clear before him.

Many women are only repurchased once, but an effort is made to do this frequently since the more times down, the greater is her prestige. After several repurchasings it is felt that the names and other prerogatives "dragged across" by Y. have become valueless. But since new names have been taken to her husband on each occasion, the marks of friendship between the two families are still plain. Then it is that those first transmitted can be recrudesced by relatives of Y., unless of course X. shall have validated them for his children. If there is only one repurchasing, the names remain the definite property of X. This is not a clearly formulated custom, merely a sentiment that the earlier names have been covered over by those later given, and that accordingly X.'s relatives, having done what was proper, can now use the titles once more. There is a constant interchange of names and privileges between familes related by marriage.

not in my dictionary

It is virtually impossible to overestimate the importance of this rite of repurchase among the Bella Coola, one of the few customs preserved tenaciously amid the ruins of their ancient culture. The writer was forcibly struck with the following instance which occurred while he was in Bella Coola:

About fifteen years before that time a young man and woman had married with due formality. Three children were born, but the mother took to drink and vice until her husband at last divorced her, retaining possession of her children. The woman, weakened by disease, divorced by her husband, and looked upon with contempt

by her family was yet determined that nothing ~~which~~ she had done should ruin her children's chances in life. Accordingly she donated $300.00 to her ex-husband to repurchase herself. Marriage is accepted as a matter of course, but to be many times repurchased is the goal of every ambitious ~~xxxx~~ woman. In fact is the custom prevails of ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ on the rocks depicting the number of coppers paid for repurchasing a wife. Thus her fame is displayed ~~xxx~~ to all. ~~xxxxxx~~

It is somewhat difficult for a white man to realise what a privilege the family of a wife consider it to repurchase her from her husband. If the latter is unwilling to give a potlatch his relatives-in-law mayu urge him to do so, and if he still declines to exert himself they take the drastic step of inviting their fellow-villagers to assemble in his house where, with these guests as witnesses, the wife's relatives give presents to her husband and his relations. ~~On~~ They may make this presentation at any gathering ~~xxxx~~ where they are assured of a large audience. In so doing the donors have demonstrated their proper sentiments, in spite of the inertness of ~~their~~ husband.

~~The following is a good instance of the manner~~ A man who is giving a ceremony of any kind can offer few greater insults to his wife's relatives than ~~xxxxxxx~~ omission to ask their assistance. The following is a good instance of such an insult:

About twenty years ago a man and woman were married and had three children. Then the mother died, before being repurchased from her husband. In addition, the husband had assisted his wife's father when one of his younger children and died, so that it was most fitting ~~that~~ the wife's relatives should ~~xxxxxxxxx~~ contribute to any ceremony staged by the husband. Four years later the husband proposed to marry once more, and to have the wedding occur at a potlatch. But on the day of xlaxtn m, the husband insulted the relatives of his dead wife by failing to invite them. The writer was unable to learn the ~~xxxxxx~~ cause of the feud, but the husband continued it by again failing to invite her family at the time during the potlatch when they should have contributed for the benefit of his young relatives about to be initiated into the ranks of the s sack. But the father of the dead woman came forward uninvited with a large present for each, saying in effect:

"I too have a right to contribute to add prestige to my daughter and her

The assistance which the relatives of a wife have given her husband is a matter about which they can boast for the rest of their lives. The writer remembers listening to a quarrel between two Bella Coola men. One of them owned a horse and waggon which the other had hired to move some goods. The latter became very angry, claiming that the former had overcharged him and must be poor and greedy to be so eager to acquire money. The teamster, thus deeply insulted, silenced the other man by reminding him that the only reason he was wealthy was by means of the goods used to repurchase his, the teamster's, sister from her husband, brother of the man with whom he was disputing. To the observer the quarrel was made more interesting by the fact that both the husband and wife had been dead for at least fifteen years, but their families had not ceased to remember the financial obligations connected with the marriage.

children."

In this way he defeated the wiles of his son-in-law who had hoped that he could shame his father-in-law by having it publicly known that he did no contribute to his potlatch. The son-in-law endeavoured to excuse himself by saying that his late wife's relatives had not contributed for so long that he thought they would not wish to do so. This retort further incensed the father of the dead woman so next day he and his wife publicly gave the donor of the potlatch $300.00 "to make clean where we sit."

In view of the important part which the r-purchase of wives plays in the lives of the Bella Coola, the writer has endeavoured to make it clear by this somewhat lengthy description. It is one of the fundamentals of Bella Coola life and therefore worthy of attention.

Dissolution of Marriage.

Either death or divorce can terminate marriage. The readjustments necessary between the two families after the death of either a husband or wife vary according to the length of time they have been married, and whether children have been born. The death of a wife is an unfortunate affair, quite apart from the grief which it mat cause her husband. Two families have been brought into peculiarly close relations through her, and now the bond itself has snapped. Delicate financial arrangements have been undertaken, and it will be a difficult matter to settle these without ill-feeling, particularly if the alliance had been arranged as a return marriage. If no children ahve been born, and no re-purchasing of the wife carried out, her relatives are expected to return to her husband's family the goods received from them duting the engagement and at the actual wedding. The matter is then settled. If the deceased had a younger sister, cousin or other near relative, an effort is usually made to have this individual replace the dead wife.(1) No further goods are given, except perhaps a few to add dignity to the transferenec; the new wife merely replaces her dead sister and the bond between the two families continues unbroken. If the husband should die, his wife's relatives are considered honourable and endowed with the minds of chiefs if they restore to his relatives the presents which they have re-

(1). The native term emphasizes the fact that the new wife is virtually inherited by her husband.

ceived. But if the wife can be remarried to one of his relatives, there is no need for this and the two families continue to enjoy the mutual strength acquired by the long period of engagement and mutual exchange of benefits and presents.

If death takes place after the repurchasing of the wife, ~~marchaffexavidus~~ there is no need to return presents; since ~~it is considered that~~ the debts ~~hx~~ have been ~~approxi~~ the rebuying has cancelled the expenditure by the husband at marriage. If childrens have been born and the woman has long become practically a member of her husband's family, she is buried by them as a matter of course. ~~Sthmmmmx~~ But should she die soon after marriage, her own family usually performs the obsequies.

With the passing of many years of married life, the repurchasing several times of the woman, and the birth of children, it becomes accepted that a husband can will his wife as he ~~mxx~~ can any other possession. But the widow is by no means a slave~~x~~ and usually is master of her own destiny, especially if children ~~xhe~~ have been born and she has reached a position of eminence in the community. Since the desirability of preserving t e bond between the two families is fully realised, it is accordingly customary for a widow to wed her husband's brother, or a husband his ~~mxxxxx xhhmmhxxx~~ deceased wife's sister. But in each case the ritual of marriage and exchange of presents must be carried out <u>in toto</u>, since the repurchasing has wiped out the original expenditure. It is considered fitting ~~hx~~ for a widow or widower to wait for at least six months before remarrying.

In spite of the efforts made to ensure the stability of marriage by impressive ceremonies and lengthy exchange of presents by the two families, ~~wxx~~ divorce is not unknown. In fact at the presents time, due to the decay of Bella Coola culture, it is the ~~xxxx~~ rule and not the exception. It was difficult to obtain satisfactory data concerning its prevalence in the old days. Unquestionably every effort was made by both families to keep together a husband and wife who had been wed with due ceremony, but it is evident that these efforts were not always successful. If a husband deserts his wife, or she him, ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ and refuses to return, it is considered that the marriage contract is at an end. The usual grounds for such desertion on his part are childlessness, inability of the wife to support her husband at potlatches, and continued faithlessness. ~~xfxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ Continued cruelty and no-